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Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-06 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5805
AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
AMEMBASSY MANILA
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMEMBASSY SAIGON
AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH
CINCPAC
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 19190

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, ID, UR
SUBJ: MALIK'S VISIT TO MOSCOW

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

1. SUMMARY: INDONESIAN FOREIGN MINISTER MALIK'S VISIT TO MOSCOW PRODUCED NO SURPRISES BUT SYMBOLIZED THE RESTORATION OF POLITICAL RELATIONS TO THEIR HIGHEST LEVEL IN NEARLY TEN YEARS. THE TWO SIDES SIGNED AN AID AGREEMENT; THE SIZE OF THE SOVIET CREDIT AND THE PROJECTS TO BE AIDED WILL BE SPECIFIED LATER. SOME DIFFERENCES EMERGED ESPECIALLY OVER SOUTHEAST ASIAN QUESTIONS, BUT THE ATMOSPHERE WAS GENERALLY RELAXED AND CORDIAL. END SUMMARY.

2. ADAM MALIK'S DECEMBER 23-26 VISIT TO MOSCOW, WHICH HAD BEEN
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POSTPONED EARLIER THIS YEAR, WENT OFF ABOUT AS EXPECTED.

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ACCORDING TO INDONESIAN EMBASSY COUNSELLOR SINGGIH HADIPRANONO, WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE NON-ECONOMIC TALKS,THE VISIT HAD TWO PURPOSES: TO IMPROVE THE STATE OF POLITICAL RELATIONS FROM "CORRECT BUT COOL" TO "CORRECT AND CORDIAL;" AND TO OBTAIN A NEW SOVIET AID COMMITMENT. BOTH OBJECTIVES WERE ACCOMPLISHED AND ACCORDING TO SINGGIH THE ATMOSPHERE WAS VERY RELAXED.

3. THE ONLY POINTS OF DIFERENCE SINGGIH CITED WERE IN THE DISCUSSIONS OF INDIOCHINA, ASEAN AND LAW OF THE SEA. ON VIETNAM, SINGGIH SAID THAT GROMYKO HAD ASSERTED FLATELY THAT "THIEU IS TO BLAME" FOR THE CONTINUED PROBLEMS. MALIK COUNTERED THAT BOTH SIDES ARE TO BLAME FOR VILATIONS OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT AND SOUGHT SOVIET SUPPORT FOR ITS STRICT IMPLEMENTATION. TO THIS GROMYKO ANSWERED CRYPTICALLY, "IT DOES NOT DEPEND ONLY ON US." THE SOVIETS, SAID SINGGIH, DID NOT BRING UP INDONESIA'S ROLE AS ONE OF THE FOUR COUNTRIES CHARGED WITH OVERSEEING THE IMPLE-MENTATION OF THE PARIS ACCORDS. IN THE COMMUNIQUE (PARVADA DECEMBER 27) BOTH SIDES CALLED FOR STRICT IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT --THE STANDARD TERMINOLOGY. THE COMMUNIQUE ALSO CONTAINED A SENTENCE ON CAMBODIA, CALLING FOR THE RESOLUTION OF THAT PROBLEM BY THE PEOPLE OF CAMBODIA WITHOUT OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE. THIS LANGUAGE, SAID SINGGIH, WAS INDONESIA'S BUT THE SOVIETS DID NOT OBJECT.

4. INDONESIA HAD ALSO WANTED A SENTENCE ON ASEAN, NOTING THE POSITIVE ACHIEVEMENTS TO DATE, BUT THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT ACCEPT THE STATEMENT. SINGGIH SAID THAT HE WAS SURPRISED AT THE SOVIET REACTION TO MALIK'S PRESENTATION ON ASEAN AND THE CONCEPT OF THE NEUTRALIZATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIA. THE SOVIETS STATED THAT NEUTRALIZATION WAS UNREALISTIC AND UTOPIAN. GROMYKO DISCOUNTED IT, SAYING THAT FOUR OF THE FIVE ASEAN COUNTRIES STILL HAVE TIES TO "MILITARY BLOCS." SINGGIH ALSO CITED A RECENT KUDRYAVTSEV ARTICLE IN IZVESTIA (DECEMBER 18) WHICH SAID THAT ASEAN HAD NOT DONE ENOUGH TO LIQUIDATE THE HOTBEDS OF TENSION IN VIETNAM AND CAMBODIA. ON ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY, A MEMBER OF MALIK'S DELEGATION (ALEX ALATAS) TOLD THE POLITICAL COUNSELOR THAT THE SOVIETS DID NOT GIVE UNDUE STRESS TO THIS PET NOTION, AND THE INDONESIANS SAW NO NEED TO RESPOND. IN FACT, HE SAID THAT THE INDONESIANS HAD EXPECTED A MUCH HARDER SOVIET PUSH.
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5. ON OTHER MATTERS, THE SOVIETS MENTIONED CHINA ONLY TO NOTE THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO CHANGE IN SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS. THEY STRESSED THAT SOVIET-JAPAN RELATIONS WOULD NOT BE DIRECTED AGAINST ANY THIRD COUNTRIES, AND ALSO NOTED THAT "CERTAIN PROBLEMS" HINDERED CLOSER SOVIET-JAPAN RELATIONS. ON THE MIDDLE EAST, CYRPUS, UN AND DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS, THE COMMUNIQUE RESTATED KNOWN POSITIONS SHARED BY BOTH.

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6. LAW OF THE SEA WAS ANOTHER ISSUE OF DIFFERENCE. ACCORDING TO SINGGIH, MALIK STATED INDONESIA'S ADHERENCE TO THE "ARCHIPELAGO PRINCIPLE." THE SOVIETS ARE KNOWN TO DISAGREE, BUT THEY CHOSE NOT TO REPLY. IN WRITING THE COMMUNIQUE, HOWEVER, THE SOVIETS WANTED TO INCLUDE A PHASE ABOUT THE IMPORTANCE OF THE FORTHCOMING LOS CONFERENCE FOR SETTLING QUESTIONS "ON AN INTERNATIONAL BASIS." INDONESIA PROPOSED ADDING THE PHRASE, "TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE INTERESTS OF EVERY COUNTRY." NEITHER SIDE WOULD GIVE, SO THE WHOLE ITEM WAS DROPPED.

7. IN CONCRETE TERMS, THE MOST IMPORTANT RESULT OF THE VISIT WAS THE NEW ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION AGREEMENT, SIGNED ON DECEMBER 26 BY MALIK AND THE CHAIRMAN OF THE USSR STATE COMMITTEE FOR FOREIGN ECONOMIC RELATIONS, SKACHKOV. ACCORDING TO ALATAS, THE AGREEMENT DOES NOT SPECIFY THE AMOUNT OF THE CREDIT NOR THE SPECIFIC PROJECTS. BOTH MATTERS WILL BE WORKED OUT AFTER THE SOVIETS STUDY THE AVAILABLE PROJECTS AND EXPERTS FROM BOTH SIDES WORK OUT DETAILS. THIS PROCESS WILL BEGIN SOON. ACCORDING TO SINGGIH, THE INDONESIAN PROPOSALS INCLUDE PROJECTS IN ELECTRIC POWER, IN HEAVY INDUSTRY AND IN MINING. THE ELECTRIC POWER PROPOSAL, WHICH WOULD INVOLVE THE INSTALLATION OF REPAIR OF POWER CABLES COUNTRYWIDE, WAS THE HIGHEST PRIORITY, SAID SINGGIH, AND HE THOUGH THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD ACCEPT IT. THE MINING PROPOSAL WAS FOR SURVEYING AND PROSPECTING, AND IT WAS NOT RELATED TO OIL EXPLORATION OR PRODUCTION. SINGGIH SAID THAT THE SOVIETS HAD SHOWN A KEEN INTEREST --EVEN URGENCY--IN BUYING OIL, BUT THE INDONESIANS EXPLAINED THAT IT WAS "NOT POSSIBLE" FOR THEM TO SELL IT BECAUSE THEIR PRODUCTION WAS COMMITTED FOR THE NEXT SEVERAL YEARS.

8. COMMENT. CRITICAL ATTITUDE BY SOVIETS TOWARD ASEAN CONTRASTS
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WITH A PROVADE COMMENTARY BY OLEG SKALIKIN ON DECEMBER 3 WHICH PRAISED THAT REGIONAL ORGANIZATION AND LINKED ITS PROGRESS IN REGIONAL AFFAIRS TO THE GENERAL TREND TOWARD ACCEPTANCE OF MOSCOW'S CONCEPT OF ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY. DESPITE THE DIFFERENCES ON THIS MATTER AS WELL AS ON OTHER POLITICAL QUESTIONS, THE INDONESIANS SEEM TO REGARD THIS VISIT AS SYMBOLIZING A RETURN TO NORMALITY IN SOVIET-INDONESIAN RELATIONS. EARLIER EVENTS HAD PAVED THE WAY--THE DEBT RESCHEDULING IN 1970, THE TRADE ACCORD EARLIER THIS YEAR, THE EXCHANGE OF PARLIAMENTARY VISITS RECENTLY--BUT MALIK'S VISIT AND THE NEW AID COMMITMENT MAY WELL HAVE RAISED THE LEVEL OF OFFICIAL DEALINGS TO THE NEXT QUALITATIVE STAGE, AT LEAST IN MALIK'S EYES. WHETHER SUHARTO AND OTHER TNI LEADERS WILL TAKE A SIMILAR SANGUINE VIEW OF COURSE REAINS TO BE SEEN.
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